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# EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE CODES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE BERNSTEIN TYPOLOGY

by

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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Educational Knowledge Codes: An Analysis of the Bernstein Typology, submitted by Patricia Jean Westaway Daine in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Sociology of Education.

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ABSTRACT

Basil Bernstein developed a typology of educational knowledge codes which focused on the organization of educational knowledge and the social consequences of changes in that organization. He incorporated Durkheimian social integration to elaborate the linkage between social change (social solidarity) and cultural change (knowledge code). This typology was the referential framework for a theoretical and empirical exploration into the structure of educational knowledge.

The theoretical analysis of the typology illustrated how Bernstein developed a phenomenological sociology of knowledge approach to the structure of cultural transmission from his general sociolinguistic thesis. The empirical analysis attempted to demonstrate the heuristic value of the typology within a specific educational context.

The findings indicated that the weaknesses of the typology were partly due to inadequacies of the sociolinguistic thesis. In addition, it was suggested that the incorporation of Durkheimian social solidarity was not clarified. The empirical application of the typology, which focused on the three message systems - curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation - suggested that Bernstein's distinction between knowledge codes was too sharply drawn. The particular school which was chosen for the study had a collection curriculum but an integrated pedagogy. Bernstein considered integrated codes only at the level of ideology. Moreover, he did not consider the existence of such an anomaly as was found here. The most important finding was that in spite of an inflexible

curriculum there was considerable structural openness displayed at this school.

The typology has great merit in that emphasis was placed on the relevance of what is taught to power and social control. Although it was useful as a paradigm for micro-analysis, the greatest potential of the typology was assessed to be its value in cross-cultural comparisons of educational knowledge. It was concluded that if the typology extends its scope to include all types of education, and not only the school, then Bernstein's approach to sociology of education will provide a rigorous study of culture.

The results of this study were significant in two respects. First, from a sociological point of view, it indicated the adaptability of Bernstein's typology from the general form in which he stated it, to a very specific context, in this case, a private school. Second, from an educational point of view, the study draws attention to the cultural transmission of knowledge which has not been extensively studied. This has important implications for the development of an original and central theory of education.

"I don't know what you mean by 'glory,'" Alice said.

Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't - till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice known-down argument for you!'"

"But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument,'" Alice objected.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean - neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master--that's all."

LEWIS CARROLL: Through the Looking-Glass.

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### The Problem

The sociological study of education may focus on either education as a social institution or education as a process of cultural transmission. The tendency of traditional sociology of education has been to concentrate on such topics as the relationship between education and society, the school as a social system, education and social change, and education and socialization while giving little or no attention to the very core of the educational process - knowledge itself. Sociology of education incorporates functionalism, systems theory, organizational theory, conflict theory, symbolic interactionism, role theory, and reference group theory as various approaches to sociology of education and perhaps as an attempt to emulate the other higher status sub-disciplines of sociology. However, as Davies notes,

> It is one of the curiosities of sociology as a discipline that although early sociologists were concerned with the control and transmission of knowledge, their successors have been primarily interested in the selection process, socialization and organization in ways that tell us little about the business of education.[1]

It is interesting to note, for example, that Karl Mannheim's presence in England seemed to bear no effect on the study of education from a sociology of knowledge approach.[2] In the United States, as early as 1950, Cook remarked on the marginality of educational sociology and its need to apply itself to such areas as sociology of knowledge.[3]

The neglect of sociologists of education in treating knowledge

as socially constituted[4] encouraged Basil Bernstein (1971) to develop a typology of educational knowledge codes which, stated simply, delineates who gets what knowledge, when, and how.[5] He suggests that such an analysis of the education process will also help explain power and social control dimensions of the dissemination of knowledge.

Rather than treat knowledge as given, Bernstein's phenomenological sociology of knowledge approach considers educational knowledge as problematic. That is to say, he begins his discussion with a description and interpretation of what constitutes educational knowledge and who makes the decisions regarding the transmission of this knowledge. When this approach to knowledge is taken, it becomes possible to discuss the influence of the sociocultural environment on the construction of reality. If one accepts that what counts as reality is a function of the social environment, then, it follows that different environments will generate different concepts of reality.

## Statement and Significance of the Study

It was the purpose of this study to apply the Bernstein typology of educational knowledge codes to a particular school setting with two main goals intended. Firstly, the dynamics of the classroom were used to test the applicability of the typology in analysing and understanding the social nature of educational knowledge. Secondly, it was hoped this application would serve to explain and clarify the Bernstein typology. This approach, then, was both an empirical and theoretical exploration into the structure of educational knowledge.

It is important to understand that the focus of this study was

on the Bernstein typology rather than on the school setting itself. There was no attempt made to evaluate the school in terms of Bernstein's typology. Rather, the typology was evaluated in terms of its usefulness in describing and explaining the dynamics of the particular school chosen.

Background to the Study

The typology of educational knowledge codes offers an extension and development of Bernstein's earlier work in sociolinguistics. It is also an attempt to end the distinction between the sociology of education and sociology of knowledge by adopting a phenomenological sociology of knowledge approach to education. Bernstein remarks:

> Essentially and briefly I have used Durkheim and Marx at the macro-level and Mead at the micro-level to realize a sociolinguistic thesis which could meet with a range of work in anthropology, linguistics, sociology and psychology.[6]

Levi-Strauss, Vygotsky, and Schmidt have similarly related language to emotional, cognitive, and social development within the culture of human groups.[7]

In order to explain the basic structure (and changes in the structure) of cultural transmission, Bernstein integrates the various ideas of Durkheim, Marx, and Mead. Durkheim is most central to the typology in that he discusses the connections between symbolic orders, social relationships, and the structuring of experience.[8] His focus is on the differences between societies having a mechanical solidarity with implicit and condensed symbolic structures and those having organic solidarity with explicit and differentiating symbolic structures. He

does not, however, explain how one changes symbolic systems. Mead proves useful in offering a discussion of the interactions between social role and speech but does not adequately explain change.[9] His emphasis is on the shaping of experience through the acquisition and development of the social self. Marx, on the other hand, discusses both the institutionalization and change of symbolic structures. Bernstein notes that Marx's focus on power relationships and control over symbolic structures points out that

> it is not only capital, in the strict economic sense, which is subject to appropriation, but also cultural capital in the form of the symbolic systems through which man can extend and change the boundaries of his experience.[10]

Not all sociologists have taken for granted knowledge as defined. C. Wright Mills, for example, sees the necessity of transforming shared meanings into objects of enquiry.[11] His writings allow one to see the processes by which a meaning becomes shared by the social group and, perhaps more importantly, which groups legitimated shared meanings for society. More recently, Michael F. D. Young, a colleague of Bernstein, emphasizes the adoption of a sociology of knowledge approach to the curriculum with the express purpose of giving sociology of education a new direction.[12] One can evaluate this new direction as one which the discipline would have taken upon its founding had it followed the classical tradition of sociology of knowledge which studied the relationship between social structure and consciousness. Bernstein's typology is an integral part of this movement to open educational knowledge to empirical investigation.[13]

Delimitations of the Study

The educational setting which was chosen for empirical application of the typology is relatively new. This independent school entering into its tenth year of operation as yet has no graduates to the tertiary levels of education. A new level or grade is added each year such that the first graduating class will be in 1976. It was, therefore, premature to analyze this school in terms of that part of the typology which deals with the socio-political society-at-large.

In addition to its newness, the school is atypical in other respects as will be documented in Chapter IV. As an independent school it offers an alternative to public school education. Its independence, however, results in a tuition fee which, although not exorbitant, may limit its membership to children from higher socioeconomic homes. The financial structure also serves to keep teacher salaries low and to place the principal in a multi-faceted role. Principals and teachers are more likely to be more heterogeneous in training and background interests than those in the public school system. Moreover, at this school, the parents are expected to take the most active role in the education of their children. The philosophy of the school, in fact, maintains that education is the natural right of the parents.

The study operated within a limited scope. It was hoped that its restriction to an analysis of the three message systems - curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation - would provide some firm empirical evidence for this scarcely researched area which Bernstein maintains should be of major concern. The study treated curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation as socially constituted categories which were open to sociological

investigation. Bernstein notes substantive differences of the codes in a cross-cultural analysis.[14] He suggests that strength of classification and framing is greatest in Europe and weakest in the United States. The relationship between curricula for varied ability groups is seen as a function of the British class system while the American egalitarian system has greater options available to students.

## Methodology

The major methods of gathering information on the three message systems were observation and interview.

Curriculum was examined using the school timetable which shows subjects taught and the time allotted to the instruction of each of these. A content analysis of the subjects was done by observing what books and resource materials were used.

Similarly, classroom observation was used to gather information on pedagogy. What was actually taught in the classroom was compared and contrasted to the labelling of the school timetable. The principal was formally interviewed and discussions were held with teachers and some parents to learn about training, interests, and ideologies of education. Observing the classroom dynamics served to evaluate the degree of congruence between teaching practices and the basic philosophy of the school.

Evaluation was likewise determined through classroom observation and analysis of homework assignments and tests. Conversations with both teachers and principal also covered this area of evaluation and promotion.

Summary

This chapter has introduced Bernstein's typology of educational knowledge codes as an integral part of a phenomenological sociology of knowledge approach to the social basis of knowledge transmitted in schools.

Chapter II will outline the typology explaining its concepts and its phenomenological nature. Chapter III will explain the development of Bernstein's sociolinguistic thesis and its linkage to the typology of knowledge codes. It will also show how his approach incorporates the study of language and curriculum into a more rigorous approach for sociology of education, Chapter IV will detail the empirical application of the typology to a specific educational setting with its focus on the three message systems - curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation. Finally, Chapter V will summarize the applicability of the Bernstein typology as well as its value and limitations for the study of the organization of educational knowledge.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ioan Davies, "The Management of Knowledge: A Critique of the Use of Typologies in the Sociology of Education," in Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, ed. by Michael F. D. Young (London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971), p. 278.

[2]Michael F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control, p. 27 notes that most of Mannheim's writings have been on the border of sociology and epistemology such that substantial empirical evidence has been shunned.

[3]Lloyd Allen Cook, "Educational Sociology," Encyclopedia of Educational Research, ed. by Walter S. Monroe. Revised Edition (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950), 352-53.

[4]One must acknowledge, of course, the Marxist sociologists' awareness of this fact for years.

[5]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control: Volume 1 Theoretical Studies Toward a Sociology of Language (London: Paladin Edition, 1973).

[6]Ibid., p. 196.

[7]Claude Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); L. S. Vygotsky, Thought and Language, ed. and trans. by Eugenia Hanfmann and Gertrude Vakar (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1962); W. H. O. Schmidt, Child Development: The Human, Cultural, and Educational Context (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1973).

[8]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 194.

[9]Bernstein feels that although Mead recognizes the role of speech in forming a social self through the development of an "I" and "me", he only implicitly points out the conditions bringing about such a change. See John W. Petras, "George Herbert Mead's Theory of Self: A Study in the Origin and convergence of Ideas," Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, X, No. 2 (1973), 148-59.

[10]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 196.

[11]C. Wright Mills, "Language, Logic and Culture," in Power, Politics and People; The Collected Papers of C. Wright Mills, ed. by I. Horowitz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 423-38. Also see C. Wright Mills, Sociology and Pragmatism: The Higher Learning in America, ed. with intro. by Irving Louis Horowitz (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[12]Michael F. D. Young, "An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organized Knowledge," in Knowledge and Control, pp. 19-46.

[13]This approach to educational knowledge is apparently becoming the dominant paradigm in British sociology of education. In Kuhn's terms, it is providing the "map" as well as the "directions essential for map-making". See Thomas S. Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 108.

[14]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, pp. 233-35. These substantive differences, however, may be seen as an oversimplification of reality. The present study analyzes the typology in a Canadian setting. Aside from reasons of economic feasibility, this setting was chosen to demonstrate Canadian education codes may be quite different from either English or American education codes.

## CHAPTER II

## THE BERNSTEIN TYPOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL KNOWLEDGE CODES

### Introduction

This chapter consists of two major discussions. The first is a brief and general discussion of the problematic nature of educational knowledge in society. The second is the specific development of Bernstein's typology of educational knowledge codes which was formulated to handle this central problem of sociology of education.

### Educational Knowledge in Society

Michael Young has expressed the hope that sociologists will begin to "make" rather than "take" educational problems. By widening their scope to include the organization and processing of knowledge as well as people in the educational system, sociologists make "certain fundamental features of educators' worlds which are taken for granted . . . objects of enquiry".[1] Young goes on to say that,

> the task of sociological enquiry [is] to treat [the dominant legitimizing] categories not as absolutes but as constructed realities realized in particular institutional contexts.[2]

Once sociologists begin to study what is selected, organized, and assessed as knowledge in educational systems they can then begin to focus on the central problem of social control. To analyze the social control which one has in a situation only in terms of position held (within that situation) results in an incomplete perspective of control. According to Dawe,

> . . . to control a situation is to impose meaning upon it by acting upon it . . . to control a situation is to impose one's definition upon other actors in that situation.[3]

In this sense, educational knowledge would be regarded as an imposed definition of reality. It is the set of meanings which those who have power over the dissemination process choose to make available to other members of society. It is not so much the position, but, the relation of that position to the dissemination process of educational knowledge which determines control.

If this is the case, knowledge is relative to a person's sociocultural position in society. Those who are in control of its distribution determine what knowledge is valid, who will receive it, how, and when. They, in fact, determine what other's sociocultural position shall be. When one employs this frame of analysis it is clear what Bernstein means when he states that "educational knowledge is a major regulator of the structure of experience".[4] People tend to act on the basis of information made available to them: when there is a differential accessibility to information it follows that actions will be similarly diverse.

## Bernstein's Typology of Educational Knowledge Codes

By presenting a typology of educational knowledge codes Bernstein attempts to analyze the social basis of knowledge made available in schools. This typology delineates the interrelationships between symbolic orders, the shaping of experience, and social organization; that is, it attempts to show how knowledge is relative to one's time and

space in society.

The general features of the typology are constructed in terms of the English, European, and American systems of education as analyzed by Bernstein.[5] (See Figure 1) Concerned primarily with change - specifically, the change in the definition of educational knowledge - the typology has its theoretical foundations in the words of George Herbert Mead, Karl Marx, and Emile Durkheim.[6] Durkheim's major interest is the relationship between categories in the symbolic order and the structuring of experience: the interaction of individual minds and society, the influence of the sociocultural environment on individual thought. Mead offers an explanation of how the individual interacts with the environment to develop mind, and how, through the acquisition of language and reflexiveness he develops a social self. Marx suggests that economic factors are the basis of mental activity. The material and cultural conditions of society are interrelated to the extent that the class which is in control of the material production of society also has control over mental production. Power relationships as they are embodied in the class structure are the main determinants of symbolic systems.

The Mead-Marx-Durkheim matrix is not an original combination in Bernstein's typology alone. For example, Berger and Luckmann use the Mead-Marx-Schutz matrix within their phenomenological sociology of knowledge and Apple extends this matrix to include Durkheim.[7] Therefore, it would seem that Bernstein's approach necessarily entails the inclusion of Mead's pragmatism and its influence on sociology of knowledge as well as Marx's theory of the economic determinism of consciousness. Moreover, Durkheim's discussion of classification of categories

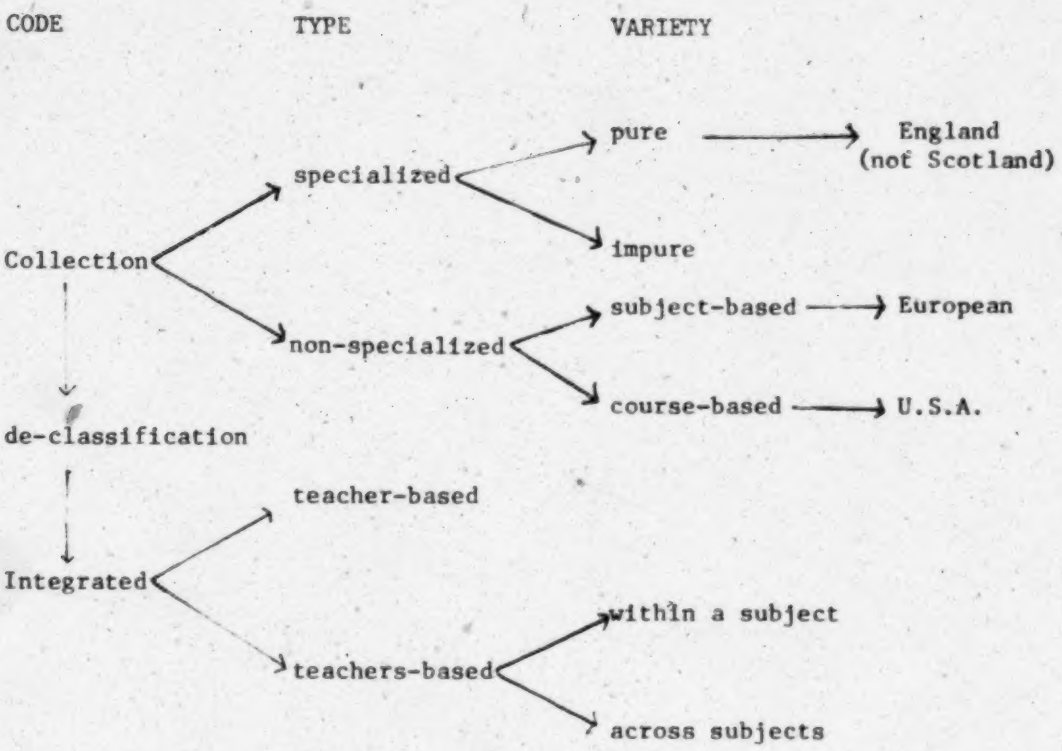


Figure 1

The Bernstein Typology of Knowledge Codes

Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 238

which are produced by each group's different cognition of society is similarly integral to the thesis.

The typology articulates educational knowledge through three message systems - curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation - which Bernstein feels are the major processes by which knowledge is selected, organized, and assessed within the school system.

Curriculum is defined as valid knowledge: valid in the sense that the knowledge is both planned by and given under the guidance of the agents of the school. Curriculum refers to those principles by which knowledge is selected (such as, to cultivate the "educated man") and relationships between subjects are determined. Curriculum, in the Alberta educational system, would refer to the presented knowledge as it is packaged by the Department of Education, the school and/or the individual teacher.[8] The status and significance of various educational contents depends upon the time allotted for their study as well as their compulsory or optional nature. Curriculum, articulated in the school syllabus, is observed readily in the classroom learning experience. One often finds a discrepancy between words and deeds; observing curriculum as presented in the pedagogical process tests the congruence between intended or stated action and actual behavior.

Pedagogy refers to the valid transmission of this educational knowledge given within the boundaries of the teaching-learning process. As knowledge tends to be transmitted in accordance with the teacher's interpretation of the curriculum, the question of validity must rest with the classroom teacher. Pedagogy is the practice of education, the systematized instruction which includes principles of teaching and

social control. The emphasis is on the context rather than the content of the process, on how, rather than what, knowledge is given. Therefore, pedagogy would appear to be the most important message system in terms of social control. Here the decision is made as to how knowledge shall be transmitted.

Evaluation, which is the valid realization of knowledge on the part of the pupil, focuses on both content and context of educational knowledge. Hence, the quantity and quality of the pupil's education is carefully appraised by those in control of the dissemination of educational knowledge. Furthermore, it is suggested that if what counts as valid knowledge is relative to the person who is in control of the pedagogical process rather than being a direct function of the curriculum, then the category of "pass" is relative to whomever is in control of evaluation. Bernstein does not acknowledge that categories of evaluation may be as much a matter of chance as they are of merit.

The interrelationships of these three message systems are based on two forms of transmission which Bernstein calls classification and framing. Classification refers to the relationship between the contents in the curriculum rather than to the contents themselves. In other words, classification would refer to whether the contents are organized around discrete subjects (history, geography, economics) or cut across subjects in an attempt to focus on problems of living (the "new" social studies curriculum). The degree of boundary maintenance or the distinction of one content from another is called "the critical distinguishing feature of the division of labour of educational knowledge".[9] Framing

is used to designate "the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, and pacing of knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship".[10] Framing is also used to distinguish educational knowledge from everyday common knowledge, the knowledge which is and is not considered legitimate classroom knowledge. One can well appreciate what this means but how such an end is achieved, that is, how one prevents a teacher from introducing "outside" knowledge into the lesson, is beyond comprehension. The authority relationship between teacher and pupil is such that any tangential remarks on the part of the student can be controlled but the same can most certainly not be said for those made by the teacher. Perhaps the only way one can control the dissemination process is with the use of teaching machines.

Although classification and framing are both related to the concept of boundary strength, Bernstein stresses that they are independent of one another. Within the same educational context one may be strong while the other is relatively weak. For example, it may be that history is taught as a discrete subject with a strong boundary drawn between it and economics or geography. However, teachers and pupils may decide together how they will study history, what topics they will discuss, whether there will be films, or presentations, and so on; in other words, framing is weakened. Classification and framing are seen to affect not only the form of the knowledge transmitted but also the authority and power structure which control the dissemination of educational knowledge. Bernstein states:

> How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control.[11]

From these basic concepts Bernstein constructs two ideal types

of educational knowledge codes which he calls collection and integrated. Basically, collection codes exhibit both strong classification and framing (although there can be sub-types with variations in both) whereas integrated codes have weakened classification and various strengths of framing. Bernstein ties these directly to the Durkheimian notion of social integration. The division of labour brings with it an increased differentiation of knowledge such that individuals relate through their differences: people think less and less alike. Bernstein analyses the collection code as representative of a segmental society where social roles are assigned and social conduct is regulated by a shared belief system. The society is highly stratified with strong hierarchical roles, groups, and subjects. The integrated code, on the other hand, is representative of a differentiated society where roles are achieved and private individual beliefs result in tension and conflict. In such a society, social integration is based on the interdependence of the different social roles rather than on subordination to a common belief system. Inasmuch as Bernstein's sociolinguistic codes (restricted and elaborated) took their starting point in Durkheim's two forms of solidarity one should be able to understand his application of Durkheim to the typology of knowledge codes.[12] At the theoretical level, however, the discussion is obscure. One can only hope that the empirical application will help clarify the linkage.

Bernstein discusses two types of collection code, specialized and non-specialized which differ according to the number of closed contents in which a student is formally examined at the completion of secondary level studies. Within the specialized type of collection code

are pure and impure varieties depending on whether or not the contents are drawn from a common universe of knowledge. The pure variety would be represented by a collection such as physics, chemistry, and mathematics while French, economics, and religion would be classified as impure. Finally, within the non-specialized type of collection code knowledge can be subject or course based. For example, history can be taught as a discrete subject or as one aspect of a course in social studies; reading can be taught as a discrete subject or as part of a language arts programme, and so on. Again, one must note the fact that a subject is listed as a discrete unit on the curriculum is no guarantee that it will be taught as such.

Integrated codes, which Bernstein places at the level of theory, will be instituted by the subordination of all distinct subjects to some relational idea. This code can be either teacher or teachers based: that is, the subject(s) can be taught by one or many teachers. In the latter category, this can be either within a subject or across many subjects. The code strength will then depend on factors such as the range of subjects co-ordinated, the number of teachers co-ordinated, and the strength of frames (meaning the degree of control teacher and students have over the dissemination process). Therefore, differences between codes will focus on the strength and nature of classification and framing.

Bernstein feels that under a collection code few pupils learn how to use their knowledge as a tool: a body of facts is collected without the accompanying skill of using these facts. Rather than achieving creativity and self-discovery the pupils reach a state of

knowledge. Pupils learn standard procedures and operations that one must carry out in a specific context rather than the creative potential of exploring these various principles such that,

> for the many, socialization into knowledge is socialization into order, the existing order, into the experience that the world's educational knowledge is impermeable.[13]

In Bernstein's analysis, a shift to the integrated code of knowledge may well provide this creativity and desire to explore the connections between various areas of learning which may in turn lead to a fuller understanding of the sources and uses of knowledge. The emphasis again appears to be on the pedagogical relationship, how rather than what knowledge is transmitted.

Bernstein analyzes the direction of change in code in a Durkheimian sense. The movement is from the covert structure of mechanical solidarity to the overt structure or organic solidarity: from a closed collection code of implicit and shared symbols to an open integrated code with increased differentiation between members.[14] The division of labour within education serves to hold society together by promoting interdependence and strengthening bonds. One might well question the covert/overt dichotomy of the two types of social integration as well as the bonding quality of the increased differentiation or subject fragmentation.

Bernstein has thus defined classification and framing not only in terms of the insulation between the contents of educational knowledge but also in terms of power and social control. He attributes the attempt to recognize and change the social nature of knowledge to a

technological source - the increased differentiation of knowledge, the changing concept of skill, and the personal and very human problem of trying to make sense of a rapidly changing symbolic system within technocratic society. Bernstein believes that the major objection to a change in educational knowledge codes will be a fear of the resultant changes in the structure of authority and social control. He discusses present subject loyalties and specific identities of the academic community which serve to create a sacred aspect to knowledge and the concept of knowledge as private property which serves as its profane aspect. Musgrove also addresses himself to this idea:

> Subjects are not only intellectual systems; they are social systems: they confer not only a sense of identify on their members, they confer authority and they confer power.[15]

As an example, one notes that sociologists, psychologists, chemists, and biologists each have a recognized body of knowledge which each group considers its own, which binds the members together into a social system with a particular social status that distinguishes them from each other as well as from society-at-large.

A move from such purity of categories to diversity would cause a mixing of educational and everyday values. Bernstein does not suggest that these values could be mixed in a collection code although his stand on this point is not clearly substantiated. Subjects in the curriculum would be subordinated to some relational and integrating idea resulting in heterogeneous teaching groups (that is, varied in size and composition). Teachers of different subject orientations will relate to one another in both social and task relationships. Changes

in what counts as having knowledge and in the process of knowledge transmission and acquisition will necessarily result in disruptions in educational identities, the authority structure, and the property notion of knowledge.

Bernstein further states that changes in knowledge code will cause changes in the organization of knowledge (curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation) as well as in the products of the socialization process. He hypothesizes that individuals who learn in the integrated code will recognize and confront one another on the basis of personal abilities rather than on the basis of such fixed qualities as I.Q., age, and sex. In addition, teaching groups will become more flexible; when the subject no longer dominates the pedagogical relationship a teacher ceases to be a specialist.[16] This will entail a change in the teacher's point of reference: it is possible he may become a specialist in human relations, for example.

The movement toward the integrated code will be problematic. Bernstein sees the first hurdle as reaching consensus on an explicit relational idea.

> Integrated codes at the surface level create weak or blurred boundaries, but at the bottom they may rest upon closed, explicit ideologies.[17]

Further to this, there will be problems of resocializing teachers into the integrated code to coordinate their behaviors in terms of the integrating ideology. Such teachers will have to be willing and able to function in conditions of ambiguity within the school environment as the predictive behaviors and outcomes of the collection code will no

longer be with them. Finally, the question of evaluation will be problematic under a system where inner attributes of both teachers and taught become readily visible. Bernstein does not consider the present situation whereby the student is evaluated on effort and conduct as well as performance as an evaluation of inner attributes.

Bernstein suggests that the openness of the integrated code of knowledge will allow pupils to create their own roles: structure will be lost, boundaries will be blurred, and pupil autonomy will be stated and stressed. The extreme individualization will thus be anomic. The increased personalization is hypothesized to result in stronger age-group identity to the extent that the adolescent segment will isolate itself from the rest of society. Whatever the outcome, Bernstein feels that it is the duty of sociology to explore changes in social integration in order to examine the central concept of the discipline - social control.[18]

Summary

This chapter provided a general discussion of the problematic nature of educational knowledge focussing specifically on the problem of knowledge and social control.

The discussion of the Bernstein typology of educational knowledge codes serves to describe and interpret the typology which will provide the referential framework for this study. The difficulty in operationalization some of the concepts has been pointed out with special reference to the linkage with Durkheim's theory of social integration.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Michael F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control, p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 3.

[3]Alan Dawe, "The Two Sociologies," British Journal of Sociology, XXI, No. 2 (1970), 213. The word "control" is used in the Marxist sense of a set of ideas or meanings and is related to power relationships. Dawe's position is very similar to that of Durkheim and Sumner who see the cultural superstructure as deterministic and coercive. See Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. by George Simpson (New York: Free Press, 1964); William Graham Sumner, Folkways: A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1940).

[4]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 228.

[5]The substantive differences in educational knowledge codes of these three countries tend to give an oversimplified view of reality. (see supra, n. 14, p. 9).

[6]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, pp. 194-96. A similar discussion of master symbols and institutional arrangements is presented in Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure: The Psychology of Social Institutions (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), pp. 274-305.

[7]See Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1966); Michael Whitman Apple, "Relevance and Curriculum: A Study in Phenomenological Sociology of Knowledge" (unpublished Ed. D dissertation, Columbia University, 1970). Apple also includes Mills, Sapir, Whorf, and Bernstein in his discussion.

[8]As a rule, curriculum is determined by the Department of Education. The independent school which was chosen for this study frames its own curriculum.

[9]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 231.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid., p. 227.

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[12]Ibid., p. 259. Bernstein has shown an interest in Durkheimian sociology in his early papers on sociolinguistics. However, the notion of social integration was first introduced in Basil Bernstein, H. L. Elvin, and R. S. Peters, "Ritual in Education," in School and Society: A Sociological Reader, prepared by the School and Society Course Team (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul in association with the Open University Press, 1971). This was extended in Basil Bernstein, "Open Schools, Open Society?" New Society, September 14, 1967, pp. 351-53. Here a shift from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity in education was first suggested. The discussion of this idea has not been fully clarified in the typology of knowledge codes.

[13]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 241.

[14]Basil Bernstein, "Open Schools, Open Society?" Here Bernstein sees the schools reflecting society with the movement toward diversity.

[15]Frank Musgrove, "Power and the Integrated Curriculum," Journal of Curriculum Studies, V, No. 2 (1973), pp. 3-12.

[16]Basil Bernstein, "Open Schools, Open Society?" p. 352.

[17]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 251.

[18]Basil Bernstein, "Open Schools, Open Society?" p. 353.

# CHAPTER III

## BERNSTEIN'S MOVEMENT TOWARDS A "NEW" SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

### Introduction

This chapter attempts to demonstrate how Bernstein's typology is an integration of three previously separate areas of sociological concern into a new perspective for the sociology of education. The first section offers a discussion of sociolinguistics with its scope restricted to the genesis of Bernstein's own thesis. This is followed by a discussion of the role sociology could play in curriculum development. The final section of the chapter attempts to show how an integrative approach, such as Bernstein offers with its focus on language, could help end the distinction between sociology of education and sociology of knowledge. This could, in turn, create a more rigorous analysis and understanding of education in society.

### Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics (or, the sociology of language) has recently experienced a rebirth of interest among sociologists in various parts of the world. It is a relatively new interdisciplinary field which borrows extensively from linguistics, philosophy, psychology and anthropology. Sociologists, however, aim to study language "in terms of its social and societal relationships, implications, functions, and effects."[1] The study of language is a well-established but certainly not a universal tradition in sociology. Most North American sociologists, for example, showed no deep interest in this area prior to the last two

decades. It was only in 1971 that the American Sociological Association established an interest group in the sociology of language to investigate language and the social construction of personal relevance.

Such a lack of concern is difficult to understand when one notes, as does Fishman, that language functions as more than the means of communication.

> Language itself is content, a referent for loyalties and animosities, an indicator of social statuses and personal relationships, a marker of situations and topics as well as the societal goals and the large-scale value-laden areas of interaction that typify every speech community.[2]

Bain states it thus:

> In the process of learning a language, a child is not merely acquiring a store of words or an ability to understand and use certain sounds, he is also acquiring a certain mode of cognition, the linguistic, that forms the social background against which all phenomena, symbolic and non-symbolic, are experienced.[3]

These descriptions serve to illustrate how language also serves as a tool of social control and a reflector of social stratification. Marx has commented on the control of symbolic systems by the dominant group in society. Historical-structural conditions determine both the absorption and dissemination of knowledge by the ideology of the social system. It is, therefore, important to realize that,

> the language system and the metaphysical and sociocultural texture and context of a society or even a group cannot be separated. Each reflect the other; each is operationally related to the other; each is both cause and effect of the other.[4]

Mills' early investigations into language are only recently being given consideration by other sociologists. His concern is language as a system of social control. He points out that:

> a vocabulary is not merely a string of words; immanent within it are societal textures - institutional and political coordinates. Back of a vocabulary lie sets of collective action.[5]

Linguistic studies focus on several areas: the spoken language (descriptive), changes in language over time (historical/comparative), and dialect geography. Similar to Mills, and in the Meadian tradition, Bernstein is more interested in the social situation - relationships between rôle, time, and space. Mead saw the importance of language "in its function as a differentiating element in the phylogenetic continuum not in its function as a medium of communication".[6] Bernstein's inclusion of Mead in his theory is more relevant in the typology of knowledge codes than in the sociolinguistic thesis itself. Mead notes the central importance of language in the development of the social self and in the control the "generalized other" has over the individual.[7]

Bernstein agrees that social roles are learned through communication; he further notes that social class promotes a communication code.[8] The manner of speaking is dependent upon the access a person has to the rules of language. This access, in turn, is determined by the social control setting of the family and educational systems. The analysis of the acquisition of language in terms of social class has great potential in the understanding of the socialization process.

> [Bernstein's] general sociolinguistic thesis attempts to explore how symbolic systems are both realizations and regulators of the structure of social relationships. The particular symbolic system is that of speech NOT language.[9]

To discuss the influence which symbolic systems have upon social relationships Bernstein draws from the work of von Humboldt, Cassirer,

Sapir, and Whorf who discuss the inter-relationship of language, culture, and personality.[10] Von Humboldt sees language as necessary for humanity not only in communication but in the creation of a philosophical doctrine for the culture. Cassirer notes the importance of language for objectification, for removing the opposition between individual and universe. In the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, the structure of language is seen to influence perception of the universe. In terms of their thesis of linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism, people speaking different languages live in different worlds of reality. Language guides social reality by either facilitating or providing a barrier to the transmission of ideas and patterns of behavior.[11] Levi-Strauss has similarly commented upon the function of primitive totemic classifications in the management of knowledge. The primitive organizes time and space such that nothing in man or nature remains alien to him.[12] The relationship between language and cultural perceptions that have been discussed on an inter-societal basis provide the framework for Bernstein's intra-societal analysis.

The distinction between the symbolic systems of language and speech is rooted in the work of de Saussure: language is essential and social while speech is accidental and individual.[13] This distinction is also found in the writings of Whorf, Vygotsky, and Merleau-Ponty.[14] With Merleau-Ponty, there is a distinction between speech as an object (empirical speech) and speech as mine (authentic speech). Bernstein focuses on empirical speech for he feels that it is here that innovations in language occur. He combines the Durkheimian notion of the social

significance of language for the structuring of social relationships with Mead's concept of how the shaping of experience occurs through the use of symbols. He then uses Marx's analysis of control over and change in symbolic structures.[15] Bernstein believes that the fashions of speaking, which he calls codes, are functions of the form social relationships take.

Bernstein notes that within a common language there may be different forms of speaking and different perceptions of reality. His emphasis is on the system of social relations from which two ideal types of code (elaborated and restricted) are developed is based upon the observation that

> historically, and now, only a tiny percentage of the population has been socialized into knowledge at the level of the meta-languages of control and innovation, whereas the mass of the population has been socialized into knowledge at the level of context-tied operations.[16]

The social structure determines the linguistic form used which, in turn, affects behavior and, ultimately, culture. This is very similar to Vygotsky who notes that in order

> to understand another's speech, it is not sufficient to understand his words - we must understand his thought. But even that is not enough - we must also know its motivation. No psychological analysis of an utterance is complete until that plane is reached.[17]

There is an attempt on Bernstein's part to understand social integration and social control by linking the language codes to the Durkheimian framework of mechanical and organic solidarity. The structure of family organization is seen to determine modes of cognitive expression. Cognitive development, which has an influence on the perception of one's social milieu, is then seen to determine educability. By linking

language, roles, and socialization Bernstein attempts to outline how social structure generates linguistic form, transmits culture, and constrains behavior. Furthermore, the belief that class structure limits access to the elaborated code leads Bernstein to investigate the consequences of the institutionalization of this code by the education system.

Sociology of Curriculum

Although there is not a total absence of sociological research into the curriculum, most studies concentrate on changes in structure rather than content.[18] Critics of education continue to point to the need to make school more meaningful for students and yet the resultant changes rarely touch upon the content and form of the knowledge which is transmitted in the schooling process. The crux of this issue is the various interpretations of the problem of relevance.[19] Taba's concern with the role of knowledge does not demonstrate an understanding of the selection and dissemination process of knowledge. She notes that

> much of the confusion and debate about such issues as the merit of different kinds of content and what constitutes the fundamentals of the curriculum ensues from the fact that such terms as subject, subject matter, disciplines, and content are used with different meanings and without sufficient analysis of what knowledge in any subject or discipline consists of. This lack of analysis in turn causes misunderstandings about the role of knowledge in learning and in curriculum.[20]

Her view tends to support an absolute nature of knowledge. Rather, one must see knowledge as relative to a person's position in society and must especially note the relationship of that position to those who

are in control of the process of dissemination.

Frank Musgrove attempts to clarify the problematic nature of the role of knowledge in society. He notes that curriculum development

> is not simply a question of presenting new kinds of knowledge, new combinations of knowledge and providing new kinds of learning experiences; it involves teachers (and pupils) in new social roles.[21]

This analysis begins to consider the social control function which knowledge has within society. The gap between those who develop curriculum theory and those who are its practitioners is the present concern of Michael F. D. Young and colleagues. They focus on the relationships between social structure and curricula and, therefore, the relative nature of knowledge.

Michael Young's major concern is that sociologists of education have too long listened to educators who defined what are the areas of sociological investigation. Similar to Denzin, Young wants sociologists to adopt an intellectual perspective on education and turn the taken-for-granted elements of education into issues for sociological investigation. Denzin suggests that sociologists must define the problems in order to become scientists:

> A sociologist who views himself as a professional looks for a client and his client is society. For the scientific sociologist, there is no client. Pure science is a self-contained enterprise, focused around intellectual problems, not around problems of a client.[22]

Both Young and Blum make culture problematic by analyzing the organization of knowledge and the construction of reality within various institutional contexts; Horton extends this approach to a cultural-diversity

model. Esland focuses on the intersubjective construction of reality in the teacher/pupil relationship while Keddie investigates the effects of teachers' knowledge of pupils on pupils' educational attainment. Davies and Bourdieu investigate the relationship between modes of communication and the maintenance or innovation of educational content. Bernstein and Bourdieu discuss relationships between education and thought: the interaction between symbolism and social structure.[23]

Curriculum development necessarily involves an integration of content and context: one must analyze the so-called common values of society in terms of the society of which they are part. Durkheim's "collective representations," Marx's "dominant other," and Mead's "generalized other," express the influence which the social environment has on thinking.[24] In addition to the legitimation of knowledge and the conferring of status, rewards, and meanings - all of which are integral parts of the socialization function of curriculum - one must also consider the social control function which power relationships outside the school have on educational knowledge.[25] Bernstein's approach to the selection, classification, and organization of knowledge focuses on this role of curriculum as an instrument of power and authority. Control over knowledge, in terms of division of labour, results in control over educational and occupational fate.[26]

Bernstein's typology of educational knowledge codes takes into consideration the decision-making processes by which the dissemination of knowledge is determined. He examines the structure and content of knowledge: what subject disciplines and identities are created, how

much of each subject is presented, when, and in what relation to other subjects. These are all analyzed in terms of classification of curriculum. Framing of pedagogy is studied to analyze how knowledge is presented, by what teachers, and using which methods. Moreover, it examines which students get this knowledge and at what time in their educational careers. Similarly, evaluation takes into account who is assessed and how, and by whom this assessment is made. The overall scheme analyzes the social control function of knowledge in terms of the values transmitted and order maintained. Bernstein suggests the two knowledge codes, collection and integrated, will display different forms in each of these areas of investigation.

It is vital for sociologists to examine curriculum in terms of presentation and assessment of various forms of knowledge within the context of social structure in order to understand the social control mechanisms in the school which function to modify and change behavior. Furthermore, as Shipman[27] notes, one must take into account the different and changing perceptions of what is curriculum. Bernstein's typology, especially that part which focuses on integration, outlines the intricacies involved in the changing balance of power entailed in the distribution of knowledge to society.

Bernstein's analysis also considers the role of ideology in change.[28] Organizational arrangements are discussed in terms of Durkheimian social solidarity. Curriculum is most often regarded as supportive of the social system;[29] hence, as Bernstein notes, attempts at change are feared. He hypothesizes, however, that the innovations and

conflicts of change will become institutionalized within an "open" society which allows for the development of autonomy.[30] If this is the case, curriculum will become an equilibrium in motion - relevant because it is relative.

## Sociology of Knowledge and Education

> To interpret knowledge as curriculum content does not recognize the fact that knowledge involves pupils who develop and change as human beings, and who are called on to make decisions within the scope of knowledge as process.[31]

The problem of relevance demands that knowledge be analyzed as content and process. Scheffler[32] has discussed the wide concept of knowledge, the relationship of knowledge to other complex ideas, and the various manners of knowing; yet, this method of analyzing the epistemology of knowledge is insufficient for sociological interpretation. Sociologists need also to distinguish the socially-shared intellectual knowledge and commonsense knowledge. Knowledge must be placed in its institutional context in order to examine the relationship between academic knowledge and everyday knowledge. This is where Bernstein's phenomenological sociology of knowledge approach proves most valuable.

Sociology of knowledge has developed from a deterministic concept of culture on man to one of interdependence of environment and individuals.[33] It focuses on the inter-relationship of social processes and knowledge but cannot embody the ultimate ground for a philosophy of knowledge.[34] Bernstein takes Mannheim's sociology of knowledge which sees ideas related to or determined by class position[35] and combines

this with Berger and Luckmann's phenomenological approach whereby

> a "sociology of knowledge" will have to deal not only with the empirical variety of "knowledge" in human societies but also with the process by which anybody of "knowledge" comes to be socially established as reality".[36]

An approach which looks at not only ideas but all categories of phenomena encountered provides a "thorough-going social theory of mind"[37] by studying the interaction of selected segments of society with an individual.

In addition, this approach allows one to differentiate "knowing that", "knowing how", and "knowing why" which are, respectively, the propositional, procedural, and explanational ways of "knowing" one's reality.[38] Such a distinction is directly related to Bernstein's contrast between ways of knowing and states of knowledge. Finally, this approach accommodates conflict because "the everyday definition of the situation may be seen as enforced and sustained by existing and changing positions of power."[39]

Mills notes that the concepts one uses function to condition what one sees and what one understands in the society.[40] By looking at the everyday world of the individual in his school environment Bernstein has adopted a phenomenological stance to link his sociolinguistic thesis with his study of knowledge codes. Such an approach underscores the manifold dimensions of relevance and shows the socialization model of the instrumental and expressive functions of educational curricula to be paradoxical in that

> the preorganized structures of knowledge and paradigms of activity (broadly conceived) sedimented within the roles

> of the scholars and practitioners of the disciplines in which we ask students to dwell, do not, by their very nature, refer to everyday reality.[41]

Here, Schutz's imposed and volitional aspects of relevance[42] overlap with Bernstein's notion of the social control function of knowledge: that is to say, what children learn in school is different from their everyday common knowledge. Schutz remarks

> I am not only taught how to define the environment (that is, the typical features of the relative natural aspect of the world prevailing in the in-group as the unquestioned but always questionable sum total of all things taken for granted until further notice), but also how typical constructs have to be formed in accordance with the system of relevances accepted from the anonymous unified point of view of the in-group.[43]

This is, of course, what Bernstein means when he suggests the school modifies and changes role behavior. His sociolinguistic thesis attempts to demonstrate how class structure "affected the social distribution of privileged meanings and the interpretative procedures which generated them".[44]

Summary

Three separate areas of sociological concern - sociolinguistics, curriculum, and sociology of knowledge - have been examined in an attempt to evolve an integrative approach to the study of education.

Bernstein's analysis of knowledge codes attempts to link speech codes with the Durkheimian notion of social integration. His sociolinguistic thesis shows the need to examine social relationships in the context of interaction and communication. The study of knowledge codes, particularly its emphasis on classification and framing, points out the role of curriculum in social control. It is his use of a

phenomenological approach to education which has made explicit the importance of the manner of transmission of knowledge to the formal education process.

This chapter has also attempted to clarify the derivation of Bernstein's thesis of sociolinguistic and educational knowledge codes. By showing how he has integrated the three areas of sociological thought it has hoped to demonstrate the value of integrated analysis into educational problems over and above the creations of sub-disciplines within sociology.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Joyce O. Hertzler, A Sociology of Language (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 4.

[2]Joshua A. Fishman, Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction (Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1971), p. 7.

[3]Bruce Bain, "Bilingualism and Cognition: Toward a General Theory" (paper presented at Bilingualism Conference, College Universitaire Saint-Jean, l'Universite de l'Alberta, September, 1973), p. 1.

[4]Joyce O. Hertzler, Sociology of Language, p. 6.

[5]C. Wright Mills, "Language, Logic and Culture", p. 433. This is more fully discussed in Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure, pp. 274-305.

[6]John W. Petras, "George Herbert Mead's Theory of Self," p. 150.

[7]George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society: From the Standpoint of of a Social Behaviorist, ed. with intro. by Charles W. Morris (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press), p. 155.

[8]The relationship between speech code and social class does not appear to hold in the Canadian context. For an exploratory study into this area see Lois Foster and Mary Nixon, "Language, Socioeconomic Status and the School: An Exploratory Study", Alberta Journal of Educational Research, XIX, No. 3 (1973), 187-94.

[9]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 194.

[10]Wilhelm von Humboldt, Linguistic Variability and Intellectual Development, trans. by George C. Buck and Frithjof A. Raven (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971), p. 5; Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1944), p. 117; Edward Sapir, Culture, Language and Personality, ed. by David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949), p. 68; Benjamin Lee Whorf, Language, Thought and Reality, ed. with intro. by John B. Carroll (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1956).

[11]Edward Sapir, Culture, Language and Personality, p. 68.

[12]Claude Levi-Strauss, The Savage Mind.

[13]Ferdinand de Saussure, Course in General Linguistics, ed. by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye with Albert Reidlinger. Trans. by Wade Baskin (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 9.

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[14]L. S. Vygotsky, Thought and Language, ed. and trans. by Eugenia Hanfmann and Gertrude Vakar (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1962); Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Phenomenology of Perception, trans. by Colin Smith (New York: Humanities Press, 1962).

[15]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, pp. 194-96.

[16]Ibid., p. 199.

[17]L. S. Vygotsky, Thought and Language, p. 151. Piaget had earlier postulated language followed cognition; by 1962 he was in agreement with Vygotsky's concepts of prelinguistic thought and preintellectual speech. See Denis Lawton, Social Class, Language and Education (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 40-41.

[18]Eric Hoyle, "How Does the Curriculum Change? 1 A Proposal for Inquiries," Journal of Curriculum Studies, I, No. 2 (1969), 132-41.

[19]For a phenomenological sociology of knowledge approach to this problem see Michael Whitman Apple, "Relevance and Curriculum".

[20]Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brice & World, 1962), p. 172.

[21]Frank Musgrove, "The Contribution of Sociology to the Study of the Curriculum," in Changing the Curriculum, ed. by John F. Kerr (London: University of London Press, 1968), p. 101. Similarly, L. Craig Wilson, The Open Access Curriculum (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1971) notes that three subsystems of curriculum development must be accounted for: curriculum, instruction, and teacher role.

[22]Norman K. Denzin, "Who Leads: Sociology or Society?" American Sociologist, V, No. 2 (1970), 126.

[23]All of these papers may be found in Michael F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control.

[24]Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. by Joseph W. Swain (New York: Macmillan, 1915); K. Marx and F. Engels, The German Ideology (New York: International Publications, 1939); George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society.

[25]Alan Dawe, "The Two Sociologies," p. 209.

[26]Basil Bernstein, H. L. Elvin, and R. S. Peters, "Ritual in Education".

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[27]M. D. Shipman, "Contrasting Views of a Curriculum Project," Journal of Curriculum Studies, IV, No. 2 (1972), 145-53.

[28]An alternate view to that presented here is given by Margaret Scotford-Archer and Michalina Vaughan, "Domination and Assertion: Towards a Theory of Educational Change" in Readings in the Theory of Educational Systems, ed. by Carl Hopper (London: Hutchinson & Co. Publishers, 1971), pp. 56-70.

[29]Michael F. D. Young, Knowledge and Control, pp. 33-34.

[30]Basil Bernstein, "Open Schools, Open Society?" p. 352.

[31]John I. Thomas, "Structure of - or for - Knowledge?" Elementary School Journal, LXXII, No. 2 (1971), 85.

[32]Israel Scheffler, Conditions of Knowledge: An Introduction to Epistemology and Education (U.S.A.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965).

[33]See James E. Curtis and John W. Petras (eds.), The Sociology of Knowledge: A Reader (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

[34]Brian S. Crittenden, "Sociology of Knowledge and Ethical Relativism," Studies in Philosophy and Education, IV, No. 4 (1966), 413. Crittenden supports Scheler's interpretation of sociology of knowledge over that of Durkheim.

[35]Presented best in Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge, trans. by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936).

[36]Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, p. 3.

[37]C. Wright Mills, "Language, Logic and Culture," p. 426.

[38]This differentiation is expanded in Israel Scheffler, Conditions of Knowledge and John I. Thomas, "Structure of - or for - Knowledge?". See also Alfred Schutz, Reflections on the Problem of Relevance, ed., annot. and intro. by Richard M. Zaner (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970) for a discussion of the different kinds of knowledge which hinge upon the degree of familiarity between knower and known.

[39]P. W. Musgrave, "The Teaching of Sociology of Education," in The Teaching of Sociology in Australia and New Zealand, ed. by Jerzy Zubrzycki (Melbourne: Published by Cheshire for Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand, 1970), p. 109.

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[40]C. Wright Mills, "Methodological Consequences of the Sociology of Knowledge," in Power, Politics and People, pp.4453-68.

[41]Michael W. Apple, "Community, Knowledge, and the Structure of Disciplines," Educational Forum, XXXVII, No. 1 (1972), 82.

[42]Alfred Schutz, Reflections on the Problem of Relevance.

[43]Alfred Schutz, On Phenomenology and Social Relations: Selected Writings, ed. with intro. by Helmut R. Wagner (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 96.

[44]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 259.

## CHAPTER IV

## EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF THE BERNSTEIN TYPOLOGY

### Introduction

In this chapter observations made at an independent school will be analyzed to determine the heuristic value of Bernstein's typology of knowledge codes in a specific educational context. A general introduction to the social and organizational characteristics of the school will serve as a background to this analysis.

### Social Characteristics - History and Philosophy of the School

The founder and principal of the school is a man who has always held strong opinions on the educational system but, aside from his own schooling, had little direct experience with the educational enterprise. He is, in fact, a medical doctor. Two events may be cited as being directly related to the development of his philosophy of education. Firstly, teaching at an Indian school in northern British Columbia during university break served to clarify in his mind some of the causes of problems in the educational system. Secondly, and undoubtedly of greater importance, was the 1959 Royal Commission on Education in Alberta (The Cameron Commission) on which his brother sat and, subsequently, filed the Minority Report.[1]

Public response to the Minority Report and that to his radio interview of Hilda Neatby's So Little for the Mind[2] encouraged this man to act on his beliefs and establish an alternative to public schools.

In 1963 the basement of an Anglican church provided the setting for the first classroom for principal, assistant, and ten children. A newspaper advertisement and a television interview aided recruitment to this first class.

The school's philosophy and methods are outlined in a handbook by the principal. The basic ideas are founded primarily on the works of Dorothy Sayers and Alfred North Whitehead but are also a development of the ideas of pluralism and local control found in the Minority Report of the Cameron Commission.[3] The aim of the school, for example, is to assist parents in the education of their children which may be seen as a remedy to the "danger of the school supplanting the parent in its role as the natural guardian of the child".[4] It should also be noted that the following three elements of Essentialist Thought form the groundwork for the development of the school's philosophy:

1. The relative rights of parents and state.
2. The psychology of the child.
3. The learning process.[5]

Organizational Structure - Finances and Clientele

Each year a new level was added to the school and the increasing number created a pressing need for re-location of the School. In 1968 the principal declared the school a non-profit (tax deductible) organization. Five acres of land in a high income area of the city were donated to the school: however, a grant of some acreage had to be made to the city for a planned subdivision. The remaining 2 3/4 acres were later traded for an adjacent 3 1/4 acres of land on which the small, plain concrete structure was erected. In 1972 the move from the church was

made. It is already apparent that further expansion will be necessary in another two years.

The school is financed through a grant from the government ($170.00 per child over age 5 1/2) and a fee structure. Tuition is $650.00 per annum for all ten levels. That this fee is not exorbitant is suggested by the fact that children represent a cross-section of society. Nonetheless, the majority of children come from the upper socioeconomic homes and at least twenty of the students are children of university teachers.

Staff members receive a straight salary - no pension, health plans, or fringe benefits - which each teacher negotiates with the principal. When one considers the financial base of the school - government grant and fees - in terms of the uses to which this money is allocated - salaries, supplies, books, and equipment - the precarious position of the school is fully appreciated. It is understandable that parents are encouraged to keep the subject of government support to the independent school an open topic with their MLAs.[6]

The parents play a most important role at this school: they must be active and responsible for the education of their children. The parental role involves much more than merely helping with homework. Parents provide a source for teaching personnel in either the formal curriculum or the extra-curricular activities of the school. In addition, various committees of parents are elected to free the principal from some of his non-teaching duties. There is a Board of Governors and three major committees - fund-raising, support, and sports. The fund-

raising committee has managed to obtain enough parental support to finance one-third of the outstanding debt on the mortgage. It is presently preparing a brochure for the business community in the hope of gaining financial aid from that source. The support committee plans and coordinates fund raising projects. The sports committee has organized short programmes throughout the year such as soccer, swimming, hockey, and yoga.

It is quite obvious that parental participation is needed primarily for financial purposes. Further to this, one notes that parents help with secretarial and some janitorial duties. Some parents offer extra-curricular activities such as music and art. Some act as teacher aides especially with the younger children. One parent edits the school newspaper. There is a co-operative car pool in operation. Parental involvement in all areas is seen as vital to the attainment of the school's objectives.

The 146 children are divided into primary and senior schools. The primary school and enrolments are: A(20), B(24), C(16), and entry (23). The senior school is based on the Latin Trivium: Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric. The levels and enrolments are: $G_1$ (13), $G_2$ (8), $G_3$ (19), $D_1$ (11), $D_2$ (9), and $R_1$ (3). The three boys in the senior class have been students at the school since its founding in 1963.

The Minority Report of the Cameron Commission had stressed the right to competing ideologies because

> the factors of choice and of competition will themselves automatically ensure a health in the matters of curriculum, of discipline, of achievement, of teacher qualification and recognition - the very areas which are undermined in the public view today.[7]

That this independent school is regarded as a competing ideology by the public school system may well be questioned. Its presence is made public in an extremely subtle manner which is, of course, by the distinctive uniform which all students must wear. There are no formal advertisements to increase the visibility of this school such that more people are aware of an alternative structure. Therefore, one may argue that the establishment of independent schools provides neither competition for the public system nor an incentive to change its structure. It is more likely that change will come about when those people who seek alternatives begin to direct their energies within the existing structure. Only then will competing ideologies serve to benefit all.

Knowledge Codes

The following discussion of the three message systems - curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation - will show that this school has a knowledge code at the level of curriculum which is best described as a collection code of the non-specialized type and subject-based variety. The very philosophy and methods of the school necessitates that this be so.

Bernstein notes that with a collection code social roles are assigned and social conduct is regulated by a shared belief system. This school has a staff of twelve, including the principal. The seven female teachers are allocated, for the best part, to the primary school. Teachers, pupils, and parents have all been given certain positions and responsibilities which they accept by agreement with the basic philosophy that "teaching is preeminently the parents' task".[8]

The knowledge code is labelled non-specialized type because

senior students do not sit for an examination in specializations. Rather, the subjects they study at this level are a natural progression from studies at earlier levels and they are examined in these subjects by standard tests during each term. The collection code is subject based as set out on the school's syllabus. Moreover, all these subjects are compulsory. An example of this is given in Figure 2.

Classification and Framing

Classification within the knowledge code (or, the relationships between contents) seems to have the contents organized around discrete subjects if one bases judgment on the syllabus alone. However, as will be shown in the discussion on pedagogy, the boundary maintenance between these subjects is weak. The framing, or degree of control teacher and pupil possess over selection, organization, and pacing of the knowledge is extremely rigid. The authority and power for the dissemination of educational knowledge rests with the principal. In this respect, one is reminded of Donald Barr's comment on headmasters:

> For all the bureaucratizing and scientizing of school administration, the head of a private school still is much like the Grand Duke of a petty German state in the eighteenth century . . . His business still is with power, quotidian and substantive power, though power of an anxious kind.
>
> It is the headmaster who must decide in the long run what is to be taught, and by whom, and to whom. He may delegate, but he must not relinquish, this control. He may spend a great deal of time making his opinions come out of other men's mouths, but he does not want anyone to be seriously fooled by his ventriloquism . . . He may disguise a decision as a tradition or as a consensus; he may try to look flurried and reluctant, to seem compelled rather than compelling, but in naked fact he is the locus of authority in the school.[9]

(Grade Levels)

| Time | A | B | C | E | G1 | G2 | G3 | D1 | D2 | R1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8:25<br>8:55 | | | Spelling | English | French | History | Math | French | Math | History |
| 9:00<br>9:25 | Phonics | Reading | Spelling<br>Phonics | English | French | History | Math | French | Math | History |
| 9:30<br>9:55 | Reading | Spelling | Reading | English | French | History | Math | French | Math | History |
| 10:05<br>10:30 | Math | Spelling<br>Phonics | Math | English | French | History | Geography | French | Math | History |
| 10:35<br>11:00 | Spelling | French | Composi-<br>tion | Math | Math | English | Latin | History | History | Chemistry |
| 11:10<br>11:35 | Writing | Composi-<br>tion | French | Math | Geography | English | Latin | History | History | Chemistry |
| 11:40<br>12:05 | French | Math | Geography | Geography | Spelling | English | Latin | History | History | Chemistry |
| 12:10<br>12:35 | | | | French | English | Geography | Latin | History | History | Chemistry |
| 12:40<br>1:05 | | | | French | English | English | Math | Geography | Geography | Geography |

Figure 2

Fall Term: First Quarantine

When one notes that teachers discuss their methods of presentation with the principal it is clear that any innovations in the transmission of knowledge must be accepted as within the boundaries of the philosophy.

Three Message Systems - Curriculum, Pedagogy, Evaluation

The primary function of this independent school is intellectual. Character development, aesthetic development (art, music, drama), physical education and vocational education are not a part of the formal curriculum and, therefore, are not categorized as legitimate educational knowledge. However, it is accepted that

> all these facets of education are of the highest importance. Hence the school must leave room for them - it must not monopolize the child's whole time![10]

To this end, afternoons are left free for these activities. Although they are not regarded as the primary responsibility of the school, the school does offer the space and helps find competent instructors.

What counts as valid educational knowledge finds itself on the formal curriculum. Following Whitehead's observation that "inert ideas"[11] result from the teaching of too many subjects, the school follows a curriculum that has concentration in area. It is the philosophy of the school that

> the basis for learning is established by the school in two ways:
> 1. By laying down habits of work and study that will stand the child in good stead for the rest of his life;
> 2. By instructing in the methods and subject matter necessary as a foundation for future learning.[12]

This philosophy maintains that a child must have a solid foundation of

knowledge before he can be a critical thinker. Learning requires order and intellectual discipline.

In the primary school the curriculum has been laid out to give the child such a foundation of knowledge. The handbook includes the following subjects as necessary at the primary level: reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, geography, observation, languages other than English, and religion.[13] The school syllabus (Figure 2) details the time allotted to each subject. Bernstein has noted that the status and significance of subjects may be determined by the time spent on their instruction and by their compulsory or optional nature. In the primary school (A to E) the greatest attention is given to the reading programme (readings, phonics, spelling, writing, and composition). French, mathematics, and geography are of secondary importance. The senior school ($G_1$ to $R_1$) de-emphasizes English and related subjects to concentrate on other languages, history, and sciences.

The school is interdenominational; the principal is a Roman Catholic. It was planned that religion would be "treated as a normal part of the school day".[14] However, the present climate in religious matters necessitated that the programme in religious instruction be held in abeyance. The Lord's Prayer is recited in English and in French at the beginning of classes. This is, of course, truly Canadian: one performs this ritual not with feelings of religiosity but with the spirit of membership in an officially bilingual country.

It is not enough to know what title is given to the subject taught: one must also know the content. Reading is taught as "the

logical outcome of our alphabetic system of writing language"[15] using the phonic method. Children learn that each letter has a name and a sound. The principal prefers this method over any other for the same reasons expressed by Barr:

> Systematic instruction in phonics gives the child two important reassurances: (a) that written language is as intelligible as the spoken language he already has learned, and (b) that he is the possessor of a method of extracting meanings by orderly thought . . . From phonics he can learn the first of a whole congeries of habits of responsible work. The joy of achieving the solution of a problem rather than chancing on the solution can be the beginning of a joyous sense of competence from which the self-image of an effective person may grow. With phonics the child can read up to his own spoken vocabulary and beyond; his vocabulary can grow faster because he can learn new words through his eyes as well as through his ears.[16]

Writing follows immediately upon phonics and is done in cursive script to bypass the unnatural detour of printing. Writing is taught as part of language, of spelling, and of penmanship. Spelling is correlated with writing: the principal holds a theory that the motor reflexes involved in cursive script are somehow tied in with psychological processes of spelling a word as a combination of letters.[17]

Arithmetic involves "the understanding and manipulation of numbers until an automatic response to number combinations is elicited as easily in mathematics as the automatic response to letter combinations (words)".[18] Mathematics is "sophisticated concepts of advanced mathematics. But emphasis must not be removed from number which is its basis and language".[19] Although the word "math" is used throughout the syllabus, that which is taught at the primary levels is, in truth, number skills and arithmetic.

Geography is seen to be "the foundation necessary for understanding the world".[20] It includes study of land forms, winds and air pressures, sea currents, and maps of various areas in the world - basic physical geography.

Observation is noted to be the "only real foundation of true science".[21] Physics and chemistry in the senior class entail the learning of the scientific method, definitions, weights and measures, atomic symbols, and so on - in short, the language and concepts of each science.

French and Latin are the only languages being taught at present although there is a plan to introduce Greek into the curriculum. These languages, like all subjects at the school, are compulsory. In the public school system if Latin or Greek are even offered on the curriculum they are offered to a small group of students. Again, one finds congruence of thought with Barr on the teaching of Latin:

> Latin is a living language. It will be a living language until we are no longer able to understand our traditions - then it will be we who are dead intellectually, not the traditions.[22]

These languages are taught on the formal oral tradition whereby the child learns the basic vocabulary, conjugations, and rules of grammar. French is taught in the first level (A) because it is felt that one must learn a language early in life if one is to become fluent.

As one may realize by studying the syllabus, concentration of time is important to the goals of the school. The handbook notes that

> the hours of formal schooling will be approximately three hours in the morning. A schedule of prepared work, drill, and review, to be done at home will require parents to play their active part. Since this work is done individually and under parents' personal supervision, it can be

> done more efficiently and in far less time than in a classroom at school.[23]

The school day, as shown in Figure 2 has time divided into twenty-five minute lessons at the primary level which has interchangeable five and ten minute breaks. The ten minute breaks are considered to be lunch breaks. In the senior school many subjects are taught in two-hour blocks and breaks are given at each teacher's discretion. Wasted time in class results in the loss of a break period.

The school year is from September to May: the fall and spring terms are each divided into three "quarantines" of six weeks each. Each quarantine sees a change in timetable. It is only at the senior levels that new subjects are introduced. At the primary level the same subjects are offered although their ordering may be shifted within the school day.

In sum, the curriculum of the school is based on the principles of concentration in area and concentration in time. Both the school year and school day are shorter than would be found within the public school system. Moreover a selection of subjects, all of which are compulsory, have been chosen by the principal as the necessary tools for the education of critical thinkers.

Pedagogy centres on the teacher who is seen as the pivot of the school only insofar as he "personifies the educational philosophy which inspires him".[24] Paper qualifications are not held as a guarantee of stature. Indeed, the principal prefers to hire qualified teachers over certified teachers. The philosophy of the school cites the teacher as a delegate of the parent. Parental observation and supervision is

not only welcome but encouraged in order that the parent remains aware of "what is going on in formal classroom instruction."[25]

All teachers must be in agreement with the basic philosophy and methods of the school. This concentration in method is important so that there "be no waste in the subject area nor in the time spent".[26] The guiding factors in method are outlined in the handbook. It is believed there is a time and a place for authoritative learning: "to ignore this time and place is inevitably to frustrate the learner and even to close the door on future learning". Deduction and logical reasoning have an absolute importance especially in the teaching of reading. It is felt that induction has been over-emphasized, that "the school can, and should, impart an understanding and appreciation of the necessity of thoroughness, of care, and of accurate observation" by auditory and visual means. Aesthetic and artistic qualities are important but "formal furtherances of artistic ability must be left to the artist in each field who alone is competent to instruct and to inspire". Creativity, moreover, must be restrained by reason. The school aims to develop expression of all kinds "but it should never be forgotten that real creativity is not easy or even pleasant. It is one of the most difficult and painful activities a human being can endure". Creativity is likened to the pains of childbirth.[27]

Memorization or rote-learning is an integral part of method. The child is seen to pass through three stages of learning which Sayers calls "the Poll-parrot, the Pert, and the Poetic".[28] These cycles of learning are, respectively, pleasurable learning by heart; contradictory

answering back and premature judgments; and finally, a synthesis of what one knows, the striving for creativity. Around these developmental trends Sayers discusses the organization of curriculum; the method of pedagogy should fit the child's stage of learning.

Similarly, there is within the philosophy of the school a concern with the child's mental and physical "readiness". As in the Minority Report, an opinion on flexibility of the child's brain for the acquisition of a second language is cited.[29] The philosophy adheres to a "strike while the iron is hot" principle: just as one can be too early, one can also be too late with learning. Therefore,

> the curriculum and age organization of [the school] is based upon the assumption that such deadlines do exist. For this reason children will be accepted at the age of 5 or at whatever age they demonstrate the ability to learn efficiently.[30]

Poor habits may never be eradicated according to this philosophy. A process of "fossilization" occurs whereby wrong habits make mind and body rigid.[31]

The pedagogy of the school encourages individual development. Each child has his own desk, books, status, and position in class and the accompanying responsibilities. There is no ability grouping; rather, the individual child who is lagging behind his classmates is immediately given remedial attention. It is stressed by all the teachers that the only true individual attention can be given by the parent.

> With the family and school working together, actual individual development can be obtained in school work. Without it the concept is a mirage.[32]

In most instances the teaching-learning process adheres to this philosophy. In the primary school stress is placed on memorization and drill. Phonics, reading, spelling, and writing are interrelated. The use of fifty-year old Canadian Readers with unrestricted vocabularies show the child that "big" words can be handled with as much ease as "little" words. The meaning of a word is not as important as the ability to say the word on one's own: the teacher tells the children the meaning more often than the pronunciation of any difficult word. Similarly, numbers are learned by drill. It is evident that the primary school is most certainly the time and place for the aforementioned authoritative learning. Children learn correct writing positions (sit up straight, feet on floor, pencil point over the shoulder). Arithmetic questions are done on ruled, squared paper. It was the writer's observation that more attention is paid to lining up one's columns neatly, printing nice figures, and drawing lines with rulers than to the arithmetic skills themselves.

Sayers links the stages Poll-parrot, Pert, and Poetic to Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric, respectively.[32] Therefore these levels would concentrate on memory, reason, and finally, self-expression. This seemed to be the case in classroom procedure. The G classes depend on rote-learning in spelling, French, and mathematics. This was especially so in the latter where snap answers are to be given to squares and square roots. French, Latin, and English concentrate on group and individual recitation of verse and prose. History is taught around dates, names, and events although there is much discussion on judging other cultures

by Western standards. The D classes do vocabularies in both French and Latin. Mathematics centres around algebra: students learn how to handle "big" numbers with the same ease as "small" numbers. History classes are opened to debate. It is also true that the R class is open to more freedom and self-expression. A stated opinion was that these three students are frustrated from being experimented upon for ten years. Contrary to Sayers, then, the self-expression is often regarded as resentment and is linked by some teachers to lags in the learning process.

The pedagogical process operates within a context of operations linked to developmental stages. Moreover, the children are exposed to a method of teaching which varies little from teacher to teacher. Every classroom experience stresses the importance of time and reminds the children of the role their parents must play in their education.

With reference to evaluation, a primary belief of the school is that "the great majority of children are capable of immeasurably more than any of us realize or ask of them today."[34] The philosophy and methods of the school reject pragmatism. The school supports, instead, "The absolute nature of many standards - standards which are not subject to the winds of constant change".[35] In line with this belief, standard tests are given each year to measure the progress of each level against the same level of the previous year. This is also the manner in which lessons are conducted. In a sense, these are a measure of group progress.

For individual evaluation, homework is checked and recorded and there are tests at the end of each quarantine. When tests or homework are returned to the student, most teachers comment on the grade

and offer suggestions for improvement. Promotion from one level to the next is apparently automatic. The principal does not like to hold a child back a year but if it is done it is usually on the basis of emotional maturity and level of cognitive development. Preferably, the child will repeat a weak subject rather than an entire year.

Summary

It is found that the processes of classification and framing, which are the formal basis of the typology, serve to underscore the complex nature of the transmission of knowledge.

In the final analysis, it is concluded that this independent school has a collection curriculum and an integrated pedagogy. In other words, the school offers what Bernstein calls a standard European, non-specialized, subject-based curriculum. Bernstein hypothesizes this to exhibit

> strong classification but exceptionally strong framing; that is, at levels below higher education, there are relatively few options available to teacher, and especially to thought, over the transmission of knowledge. Curricula and syllabus are very explicit.[36]

This is confirmed as Figure 2 exhibits. The curriculum, which is set out by the principal, has compulsory subjects assigned to rigid time units.

The pedagogy, on the other hand, is found to be integrated. Bernstein cautions that "because one subject uses the theories of another subject, this type of intellectual inter-relation does not constitute integration".[37] This type of intellectual inter-relation is present, of course, as shown in the discussion of teaching reading and

mathematics. In addition to this, all transmission of knowledge is subordinated to a relational idea which is the stated philosophy of the school: all teaching is preeminently the parents' task. The school restricts itself to an intellectual function as delegate of the parents and employs the methods of concentration in area, time, and method of teaching.

## Conclusion

This chapter discussed the social and organizational characteristics of the school. It then analyzed the school in terms of the Bernstein typology of knowledge codes. It was found that whereas the curriculum of the school was best described as a collection code, the pedagogy was best analyzed in terms of integration. Bernstein's typology does not readily allow for such a dichotomy in analysis and it most certainly does not consider integration existing except at the level of theory. This empirical application tends to suggest otherwise.

The limitations of Bernstein's typology which were apparent in this analysis will be discussed in Chapter V and suggestions for its improvement will be offered.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta. The Honourable Senator Donald Cameron, Chairman (Edmonton, Alberta: Queen's Printer, 1959). It will be shown throughout this chapter that the Minority Report and the philosophy of the independent school can be viewed, for the most part, as one and the same.

[2]Hilda Neatby, So Little for the Mind (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1953).

[3]Dorothy Leigh Sayers, The Lost Tools of Learning, paper read at a Vacation Course in Education, Oxford, 1947 (London: Methuen & Co., 1948); Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education and Other Essays (New York: Free Press, 1957); Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta.

[4]Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta, p. 359.

[5]Ibid., p. 371.

[6]Tempo Times, May 1973

[7]Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta, p. 451.

[8]The school's name is derived from the Latin translation of this phrase.

[9]Donald Barr, Who Pushed Humpty Dumpty? Dilemmas in American Education Today (New York: Atheneum, 1972), pp. 118-19. Although these remarks may be interpreted as disparaging, one should note that Barr, himself, is a headmaster (Dalton School, New York). He believes that discipline is necessary for freedom.

[10]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School: An Outline of Philosophy and Method (Lillooet, British Columbia: A Tempo-Tiger Publication, 1963), p. 14.

[11]Alfred North Whitehead, Aims of Education , p. 2. By "inert ideas" is meant that the child receives a dossier of facts without the skills of how and when to use these facts.

[12]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School, p. 6. This can be seen as an application of Essentialist Thought as discussed in the Minority Report (see supra p. 43).

[13]Ibid., p. 7.

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[14]Ibid., p. 18.

[15]Ibid., p. 6.

[16]Donald Barr, Who Pushed Humpty Dumpty?, p. 297.

[17]The relationship between inner mechanisms and speech, reading, and writing is discussed in Dr. A. A. Brill, ed. The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud (New York: Modern Library, 1938), pp. 87-94. Visual-motor perception has also been connected with reading and number ability by Dr. Loretta Bender. See Elizabeth Munsterberg Koppitz, The Bender-Gestalt Test for Young Children (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1963).

[18]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School, p. 7.

[19]Ibid.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Donald Barr, Who Pushed Humpty Dumpty?, p. 280.

[23]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School, p. 7.

[24]Ibid., p. 16.

[25]Ibid. Parents are encouraged to sit in on any class at any time and many do. The only stipulation is that they do not interfere in the teaching process but, rather, discuss it after the class. Many teachers do involve parents in the classroom interaction such as reading with the children or aiding correction of work. Unlike the public system, the independent school maintains that it is a public building.

[26]Ibid., p. 7.

[27]Ibid., pp. 8-10.

[28]Dorothy Leigh Sayers, The Lost Tools of Learning, pp. 14-15.

[29]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School, p. 15; Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Alberta, p. 426.

[30]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School, p. 17.

[31]Ibid., p. 12.

FOOTNOTES (continued)

[32]Ibid., p. 13.

[33]Dorothy Leigh Sayers, The Lost Tools of Learning, p. 16.

[34]G. N. Cormack, Tempo School, p. 19.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 234. The Standard European curriculum is similar to the traditional Canadian curriculum.

[37]Ibid., p. 235.

# CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

### The Problem

Bernstein's typology of educational knowledge codes provided the theoretical framework which was basic to this study. The development of his sociolinguistic thesis and its linkage to the typology of educational knowledge codes was offered in Chapter III. It was also suggested that Bernstein's use of phenomenological sociology of knowledge may well provide a more rigorous sociology of education. An empirical application of the typology was conducted to test its heuristic value in a specific educational context. The analysis of this application was reported in Chapter IV. The general conclusion was that contrary to Bernstein's theory an integrated code does exist at the level of practice and not only at the level of ideology. Moreover, it was apparent that the school chosen for this study had a collection curriculum but an integrated pedagogy. Bernstein's typology does not take into consideration such an anomaly.

### Conclusions

Because this study is a relatively rigorous analysis of one private school, one cannot formulate far reaching conclusions as to the value of the Bernstein typology. The need exists for further and larger studies before the typology is fully tested. Nonetheless, it is possible to comment on the theoretical concepts to some extent now that an empirical study has been made.

Bernstein's thesis is highly suggestive. However, in order to fully test its viability one must use his methodic idea and concepts.[1] Here lies the major difficulty: many of these concepts ("collection", "code" or "frame strength", "deep structure", to name a few) are both theoretically and empirically obscure. Much of this difficulty stems from the basis of the typology - his sociolinguistic thesis. This thesis relates linguistic development and value orientations. The role of the social environment, family and speech codes in this case, in cognitive development is useful for child-rearing studies and interdisciplinary research. However, as useful as they may be in a discussion of learning skills, speech codes are not necessarily connected with concepts such as authoritarianism and humanitarianism. Bernstein links family speech codes with authority structure: lower classes speak in restricted code and have positional authority while middle and upper classes speak in elaborated code and have inter-personal authority. The empirical probability of this theory is appreciated but one must always view the linkage within its situational context.

Secondly, the consideration that language influences perception of the entire environment is by no means unique to Bernstein.[2] But, if Bernstein is correct in his linkage of social structure, role, culture, and language then a change in school structure will be required in order to extend the range of control over speech.[3] As a social learning theory, then, Bernstein does state a plausible theoretical position as well as provide a framework for a general theory of achievement. He shows that cognitive, motivational, and evaluative factors are related

to each other and to the environment. However, it is felt that the oversimplification of the sociolinguistic thesis has not been fully corrected by the typology of educational knowledge codes.

The inconsistencies and inadequacies of a purely linguistic perspective of sociocultural communication, orientation, and interaction obviously create a need for an integrated model. Bernstein's move toward a social philosophy with specific reference to the conditions and contexts of learning in schools incorporates a matrix of the ideas of Durkheim, Mead, and Marx. The use of Durkheimian social solidarity is most difficult to follow and shall hopefully be clarified by Bernstein in a later paper.[4] It is felt that just as Durkheim holds organic solidarity superior to mechanical solidarity, Bernstein evaluates the integrated code as superior to the collection code of knowledge. He implies that the integration code is more fitting a rapidly changing technological society.[5]

Implications

The dichotomy of collection code/mechanical solidarity and integrated code/organic solidarity is found to be misleading. Bernstein develops his typology of educational knowledge codes in such a way that the basis for evaluating codes appears to rest with the nature of curriculum. The empirical application of the typology tends to suggest that the evaluation of code should be on the basis of pedagogy. Moreover, the linkage with Durkheimian solidarity requires a much more detailed analysis of a situation then the typology provides. Perhaps the

best method by which one can illustrate this oversimplification of code classification is by attempting to locate the formal controls of the school on the diagram Bernstein has suggested (Figure 3).

The specific school context is analyzed in terms of mixing of categories and purity of categories. It can be seen that elements of both are in operation at the school chosen for this study (See Figure 4). At the instrumental level - curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation - there is a tendency toward mixing of categories (or integration) with the exception of curriculum. The teaching groups vary in size and composition. For example, the A class is instructed by one teacher whereas the other classes have as many teachers as they have subjects. The ultimate goal of pedagogy is to stress ways of knowing and in order to attain this goal the teacher roles are cooperative and interdependent. There is a common curriculum with no options available. Here the subject boundaries are sharply drawn on the syllabus and learning progresses by the deductive method.

At the expressive level - character of conduct and manner - there is mixing of categories with respect to teachers and purity of categories with respect to pupils. The teachers have participation and cooperation in both task and non-task areas but all interaction is dominated by the authority of the principal. Because parents are encouraged to participate in the education of their children the boundary maintenance with the outside world is blurred. Sub-groups are integrated especially if one considers the non-task relationships of children: there is much

ORDERS

INSTRUMENTAL

| Mixing of Categories | | Purity of categories |
|---|---|---|
| Teaching Groups: | Heterogeneous - size and composition varied | Teaching Groups: Homogeneous - sizes and composition fixed |
| Pedagogy: | Problem setting or creating<br>Emphasizes ways of knowing | Pedagogy: Solution giving<br>Emphasizes contents or states of knowledge |
| Teachers: | Teaching roles cooperative/interdependent<br>Duties achieved<br>Fluid points of reference and relation | Teachers: Teaching roles insulated from each other<br>Duties assigned<br>Fixed points of reference and relation |
| Curriculum: | Subject boundaries blurred (interrelated)<br>Progression: deep to surface structure of knowledge<br>Common curriculum | Curriculum: Subject boundaries sharp (less interrelation or integration)<br>Progression: surface to deep structure of knowledge<br>Curriculum graded for different ability groups |
| Pupils: | Varied social groups reducing group similarity and difference - increased area of choice<br>Aspirations of the many raised<br>Fluid points of reference and relation | Pupils, Fixed and stable social groups emphasizing group similarity and difference - reduced area of choice<br>Aspirations of the few developed<br>Fixed points of reference and relation |
| Type - Open ---------- | | ---------- Type - Closed |
| (1) Ritual order celebrates participation/cooperation<br>(2) Boundary relationships with outside blurred<br>(3) Internal organization:<br>wide range of integrative sub-groups with active membership and success roles across ability ranges<br>If prefect system - wide area of independence from staff decisions, e.g., opportunities for self-government | | (1) Ritual order celebrates hierarchy/dominance<br>(2) Boundary relationships with outside sharply drawn<br>(3) Internal organization:<br>narrower range of integrative sub-groups with active membership and success roles confined to high ability range<br>If prefect system - under staff control and influence, but extensive exercise of power<br>Limited opportunities for pupils to influence staff decisions, e.g. limited opportunities for self-government |
| (4) Teacher-pupil authority relationships<br>Reward and punishment less public and ritualized<br>Teacher-pupil relationships of control - interpersonal | | (4) Teacher-pupil authority relationships<br>Reward and punishment public and ritualized<br>Teacher-pupil relationships of control - positional |

EXPRESSIVE

Mixing of Categories — Purity of Categories

Figure 3

Formal Controls (Theoretical)

Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, p. 260

ORDERS

| Mixing of Categories | INSTRUMENTAL | Purity of Categories |
|---|---|---|
| Teaching groups: Heterogeneous<br>Pedadogy: Emphasizes ways of knowing<br>Teachers: Cooperative/interdependent roles<br>Fluid points of reference and relation<br>Curriculum: Common curriculum<br>Pupils: Aspirations of many raised<br>Fluid points of reference and relation | | Pedagogy: Content emphasized as a basis for way of knowing.<br>Teachers: Duties assigned.<br>Curriculum: Sharp boundaries.<br>Progression: deductive learning.<br>Pupils: Fixed, stable social groups emphasizing group similarity and difference |
| Type - Open | | Type - Closed |
| (1) Ritual order celebrates participation/cooperation<br>(2) Boundary relations with outside blurred<br>(3) Internal organization:<br>Wide range of integrative sub-groups<br>(4) Teacher-pupil authority relationships:<br>Interpersonal control (varies with context) | | (1) Authority of principal recognized as ultimate<br>(3) Internal organization:<br>Limited opportunities for pupils to influence staff decisions.<br>(4) Teacher-pupil authority relationships:<br>Reward and punishment public and ritualized.<br>Positional control (varies with context) |
| Mixing of Categories | EXPRESSIVE | Purity of Categories |

FIGURE 4

Formal Controls (Empirical)

mixing of age and sex groups. Reward and punishment are highly ritualized. Punishment usually entails losing a break or writing lines. Control, however, does vary with context: both positional and interpersonal dimensions are found. That is to say, the teacher-pupil diad of superior/inferior is recognized but there is also the consideration that the pupil may well be the teacher's own child or the child of another staff member. To categorize the school as having mechanical or organic solidarity on the basis of this information would not only be misleading but an oversimplification of the interaction processes.

The empirical application of the typology clarifies several matters. Firstly, it seems that emphasis should be placed on pedagogy. It is not so much what is taught (although this is certainly important) but how it is taught that is the key to knowledge and social control. Just as speech determines the different ways of relating to objects and persons, it is the way in which a subject is taught which will determine the power and social control dimensions of knowledge.

Secondly, this empirical study suggests that the diagram Bernstein offers of the two educational knowledge codes (Figure 1) is instead an analysis of the two message systems, curriculum and pedagogy. The analysis presented in Chapter IV shows curriculum to be non-specialized type and subject based variety. Moreover, pedagogy was shown to be both teacher and teachers-based and within and across subjects. This seems to imply a strong classification of curriculum but a weak classification within the pedagogical process. That is to say, the sharp boundary distinctions which are presented on the syllabus are not evident in the actual teaching-learning situation. Moreover, the integrating

idea discussed in Chapter IV is so entrenched in the pedagogy that an observer sees little difference in teaching method from one class to the next. All of this serves to underscore the necessity of analyzing the interaction between curriculum and pedagogy relative to evaluation before categorizing the knowledge code of the school. It is possible that these findings are applicable only at the micro-level of analysis. One must remember that Bernstein derives his classificatory scheme from macro-analysis of different cultures (England, Europe, U.S.A.).

Finally, the dynamics of interaction between staff and between staff and students within and without the teaching-learning situation requires analysis before any relationship to social solidarity of a mechanical or organic nature can be assessed. This is especially relevant in a school such as the one chosen for this study where boundary relationships with the outside are considerably weak.

A major limitation of the Bernstein typology is the changing concept of education in society. The school and teacher no longer have exclusive authority in education. The publishing industry, radio, television, correspondence schools, and on-the-job training have put an end to the monopoly on education. Education cannot refer to only the formal, institutionalized process represented by the school. It follows from this that the scope of sociology of education must also expand. As much as the Bernstein typology focuses our attention on the social basis of knowledge, it must recognize the ambiguous boundaries of that basis and adjust to them. If not, the analysis of knowledge and social control cannot be anything but partial.

By focusing on the selection, transmission, and evaluation of knowledge Bernstein makes the sociology of education a study of power and social control within a culture. His typology emphasizes the structure of cultural transmission by focusing on curriculum and pedagogy. Although this study suggests that the distinction between collection and integrated codes is too sharply drawn by Bernstein, it nonetheless clarifies the use of the typology as a paradigm for the analysis of particular educational structures. Because the message systems of curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation underscore what is relevant in knowledge and social control, the major strength of the typology lies in its potential for macro-level studies, especially comparative education. Bernstein's typology has its greatest value in cross-cultural analysis where it may prove useful in testing the congruence between educational and societal openness.

## FOOTNOTES

[1]Stephan Strasser, Phenomenology and the Human Sciences: A Contribution to a New Scientific Ideal (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Duquesne University Press, 1963), p. 127. Strasser mentions that in order to verify something as a "fact", one must be willing and able to adopt the mode of thinking of the person stating the "fact".

[2]Relationship between language and environment is a widely discussed topic (See supra Chapter III).

[3]Denis Lawton, Social Class, Language, and Education, p. 157.

[4]The development of Durkheimian social integration within Bernstein's work has been noted (See supra, p. 24, n. 12).

[5]Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, pp. 254-55.

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